

**CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE
ON DISARMAMENT**

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Message dated 1 February 1966 from the Chairman of the
Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
to the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament

On behalf of the Soviet Government, I convey our greetings and wishes for success to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament on the occasion of the resumption of its work.

More than forty years ago, on the initiative of V.I. Lenin, the Soviet Union set as a pressing international aim the accomplishment of universal disarmament in order to ensure peace and friendship among nations. True to Lenin's precepts, the Soviet Government has submitted for the Committee's consideration a specific programme for general and complete disarmament, which provides for the complete elimination of armaments and armed forces. It was due to the initiative of the Soviet Union that the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution on an economic disarmament programme which would make it possible to increase the well-being of all the peoples of the world within a short period of history and would enable countries and peoples which are lagging behind as a result of colonialism to overcome their economic backwardness and to attain the level of modern civilization. That wide disarmament programme is still our programme today and we are sure that, in the struggle against the forces of militarism and aggression, it will become the banner of an ever-increasing number of people who really cherish peace and progress.

Unfortunately, the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament has not succeeded in achieving any serious results during the period of its existence. The States members of the NATO military-political bloc which are taking part in the Committee's work have not given the Committee a chance to make any progress. However, this should not deprive the States which really want disarmament of their determination to achieve this aim and to continue their struggle both for general and complete disarmament and for the implementation of collateral measures which would clear the way to disarmament.

The Soviet Government would like once again to draw the attention of the members of the Committee to the severe ordeals which the world is undergoing at the present time. For a long time now, the flames of war have been raging in Vietnam, whose freedom-loving people have become the victims of imperialistic intervention which is also threatening the adjacent countries. The aggression in Vietnam is an aggression against all countries and peoples that are defending their freedom and independence and their sovereign right to build their lives according to their own wishes, without any outside interference whatsoever.

The ideas of peace and disarmament are incompatible with a policy of armed interference in the affairs of other countries and peoples. Militarism turns to destructive purposes what might be used for the advancement of mankind and destroys the results of the labour of millions of people.

The Soviet Union, consistently pursuing a policy aimed at consolidating peace and achieving disarmament, has on this occasion also come to the Eighteen-Nation Committee with a specific programme of measures designed to free present and future generations from the burden of armaments.

In the forefront of the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee at present is the task of accomplishing a series of measures relating to nuclear disarmament.

The Soviet Government insists on the need for the immediate conclusion of an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Unless an end is put to the proliferation of nuclear weapons throughout the world, the danger of the outbreak of a nuclear war will increase many times over. Yet there are plans for such a proliferation, although they are camouflaged by professions of peaceful intentions. These plans provide for giving access to nuclear bombs to the militarists and revanchists of the Federal Republic of Germany, which openly sets as the main object of its policy the revision of the existing European frontiers and the annexation of the territory of other countries. The peoples, especially the peoples of Europe, are too well aware of the adventurist nature of the German militarists to reconcile themselves to these dangerous plans.

The draft agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons which the Soviet Union has submitted to the Committee is permeated with a single aim, namely, to block all paths to the further spread of nuclear weapons. It is fully in keeping with the resolution which was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations and which expressed the will of the peoples. In order to facilitate agreement on the conclusion

of a treaty, the Soviet Government declares its willingness to include in the draft treaty a clause on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear States parties to the treaty which have no nuclear weapons in their territory

The Soviet Government fully supports the proposal of the Polish People's Republic to establish a denuclearized zone in Central Europe and to freeze nuclear armaments in that area, as well as proposals to establish denuclearized zones in other parts of the world. It is prepared to assume an obligation to respect the status of any denuclearized zones which may be established provided that other nuclear Powers assume similar obligations.

Three years will soon have passed since the conclusion of the international Treaty Banning Nuclear Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water. The Soviet Government declares its willingness to reach agreement immediately on the prohibition of underground nuclear tests as well, on the basis of the use of national systems of detection for control over such prohibition.

The time has also come to outlaw the use of nuclear weapons. The General Assembly of the United Nations adopted such a resolution several years ago, when it condemned the use of nuclear weapons as a crime against humanity and called for the conclusion of a special convention. The Soviet Union is prepared to assume immediately an obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, provided that the other nuclear Powers do likewise.

The present world situation also urgently calls for solution of the problem of the elimination of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of other countries. The events which are now taking place in the world convincingly show that foreign military bases and armed forces in the territories of other countries represent a serious threat to world peace. These bases, which as a rule comprise nuclear weapons, greatly increase the danger of the outbreak of a nuclear war. The establishment of these bases and the stationing of foreign troops in the territories of other countries are indissolubly linked with the preparation and carrying out of military adventures, with the suppression of national liberation movements and with attempts to stifle the freedom and independence of nations. The Soviet Union is of the opinion that the Eighteen-Nation Committee should consider the question of the complete elimination of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of troops from foreign territories, so as to rid the world of these dangerous hotbeds of war, colonialism and aggression.

In order really to put and end to the danger of a nuclear war and to the nuclear armaments race, the Soviet Government proposes that the nuclear Powers should consider the question of carrying out immediately the programme relating to nuclear disarmament. Such disarmament must provide for the destruction, under appropriate international control, of all stockpiles of nuclear weapons accumulated by States, the prohibition of their manufacture, the complete destruction of all nuclear weapon delivery vehicles and the prohibition of their production, and the elimination of military bases in foreign territories. Only such measures, not the elimination of only a few atomic and hydrogen bombs from the vast stockpiles accumulated by States, can free the peoples from the threat of a nuclear war.

We must bear in mind the fact that the high-sounding phrases about disarmament uttered by certain governments are scarcely, if at all, compatible with the policy which they are actually carrying out. These governments speak of disarmament and at the same time are increasing their military budgets, fostering war psychosis and creating ever greater international tension in the world situation. The Soviet Government considers that one of the most important tasks of the Disarmament Committee should be to work out effective measures which would lead to the reduction of the military budgets of States and, in conjunction with other similar measures, would help to normalize relations between nations.

In submitting for the Committee's consideration these constructive and thoroughly well-pondered proposals, the Soviet Government bases itself on the assumption that they could serve as a basis for further progress along the path towards disarmament.

The Soviet Union, like other peace-loving countries, is fully determined to continue the struggle against aggression and for the strengthening of peace, national freedom and independence and the peaceful co-existence of States, irrespective of their social systems. On this basis, we shall take an active part in the work of the Disarmament Committee. Our representatives have been instructed to defend the position of the Soviet Union firmly and to explain it patiently. At the same time, they will be prepared to study and to take into consideration without prejudice the proposals of any other delegation, if these proposals are really aimed at furthering the cause of disarmament.

Through joint efforts, the nations can and must succeed in putting an end to aggression, relaxing international tension, and solving the problems of disarmament.

A KOSYGIN
Chairman of the Council of
Ministers of the USSR

Moscow,
1 February 1966.